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THE INTERNATIONAL TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION.

THE struggle for existence and subsequent recognition, which was so earnestly fought out by the trades unions of England at the beginning of the present century, is a feature which, happily enough, has been almost entirely wanting in the development of trades unionism in America. Throughout its early growth in the four decades preceding the Civil War and its rapid progress ever since the union plan of organizing labor has met with little interruption, and its success as indicated by its proportions today is generally conceded to have been fairly merited. While this commendation of the movement in general may be freely given, approval of many methods pursued, from time to time, by local and national unions is far from being in any degree so unanimously expressed. In truth, many of these methods have received the strongest condemnation, not only from employers, but oftentimes from laboring men themselves. The fact that trades unions have not unfrequently been known to shift their position in regard to important matters, and adopt a policy at one time the direct opposite of that which was held at another, is evidence that grounds have not been ill founded on which diverse opinions have been based. The subject, then, of trade-union methods is of first-rate importance. In the present paper an effort has been made to indicate some of the methods most commonly pursued by trades unions in matters pertaining to their organization and trade, and to illustrate these in particular by concrete instances from the life history of the International Typographical Union, the oldest national labor organization in America today.¹

¹ The earliest recorded instances of attempted organization among printers in America date back to the first quarter of the present century. It was during the second quarter, however, that the number of local unions in the printing, as in other trades, began to increase. The first attempt at united action among the unions formed came in 1843, when an effort was made in New York City to form a general

In a study of trade-union methods first in natural order and primary in importance is the subject of membership. Who may be members, and what should be the conditions of admission to membership, are questions of vital moment to every union. Broadly stated, the policy of any union is to include within its ranks all workers at the trade for which the union stands. So long as non-union men remain, the strength of the union will be impaired in the protection afforded its members against possible unfair competition from without. The insistence upon a certain degree of skill is necessary, however, to prevent the union being made a refuge for objectionable or unworthy workmen, and is also an essential guarantee that the members have attained that degree of efficiency as handicraftsmen which the union may

secret union of the printing craft under the name of "The Order of Faust." This order expired at the end of two years. In 1850 a temporary organization of the local unions in the eastern states was effected, and the following year at a convention held at Baltimore "The National Typographical Union" was formed. Its constitution was adopted a year later. At the time of the Civil War the number of local unions had increased to half a hundred. This number was rapidly supplemented during and after the war. The advisability of extending the organization to Canada had been considered shortly after the national union was formed, but this extension was not brought about till June 1869, at which time the name of the organization was changed to "The International Typographical Union of North America." During the years 1873-4 a successful arrangement was entered into between the unions of England and America by which the interchange of cards between the two countries was thereafter to be recognized. Up to 1873, 165 local unions had been chartered and the total membership at that date was estimated at over 10,000. In the same year a system was initiated of bringing allied trades within the jurisdiction of the general organization. Since then pressmen, stereotypers, electrotypers, bookbinders, plate printers, press feeders, type founders, mailers, and their local unions have been brought in. Of late efforts have been made to include telegraph operators and others engaged in trades which influence the printing business. The German-American Typographia, organized in 1873 and composed chiefly of German printers, has been closely connected with the International Typographical Union for some time. The National Typothetæ, an organization of employers, has had continuous dealings with the Typographical. With the Knights of Labor very friendly relations have been maintained, though in 1886 the Typographical Union strongly resented the attempt made to have itself included under that organization. At the present time there are a few printers' assemblies of the Knights of Labor. In the formation of the American Federation of Labor in 1881 the International Typographical Union played an important part. The two organizations have been mutually helpful and have sustained close relations ever since.

claim for those who belong to it. In regard to the admission of members the International Typographical Union has had, in common with other unions, three problems of special importance to solve, namely, the problem of sex, or the admission of women; the problem of race, or the admission of negroes; and the problem of the degree of skill required, or the apprenticeship question.

The struggle against the competition of female labor is one which has distracted a large majority of unions, and is by no means settled even yet. Where we have sufficient material on the subject, we are able to trace, in many unions, two distinctly opposite policies which have been enunciated and carried out in regard to this problem. The first and earlier policy is one of exclusion, to crush effectually, if possible, the female worker; the other and later policy is one of inclusion and the defense of female rights. When the number of female workers in a particular trade was limited, the unions believed that by offering them no inducements, by discouraging, in fact, their efforts to advance or improve, they might in the end be beaten down, or at least not rise to any positions of importance. When, however, it became evident that woman was in the field to stay, and that in many instances she was supplanting man, the doors of the union were thrown open to her, and every encouragement was offered that she might avail herself of union privileges. It was found that the only successful mode of dealing with this new factor in the labor market was to give it fair treatment—to combine with it, and by organizing female labor and demanding for woman the same remuneration for time and service as was given to man, to prevent the underselling of the one by the other.

The records of the Typographical Union exhibit the two tendencies very clearly. As early as 1854 we find a resolution which declares that "the National Typographical Union will not encourage by its acts the employment of females as compositors." That this attitude was maintained for some time is evident from the report of the secretary in 1867, in which he says "the public at present believe that the policy of the union is one of opposi-

tion to woman in trade." But the time had come for a change, and therefore the secretary proceeds to declare that the union simply opposes women being hired at less wages than men, and thereby securing the situations of the stronger sex. He then makes the demand, which is often heard today, that if a woman is competent to do a man's work she should have a man's pay in return. The old prejudice, however, still swayed the minds of the majority, for at the same meeting a mild resolution on the subject, which was introduced by a special committee, failed to carry. It stated, in effect, that the National Typographical Union knew of no good reason why women should not be allowed all the rights and privileges of membership, provided they received a like compensation as men for the same kind of work and service. The matter was then left to the action of subordinate unions. Taking advantage of this ray of hope and promise, a women's typographical union was organized in the city of New York in the course of the following year. It included in all fifty members, and shortly after its formation won a recognized status by assisting the men's union in that city while the latter body was conducting a strike. At the session of the International Union in 1869 two members of the New York women's union were present, and, with the coöperation of a number of the delegates, were able to secure an amendment to the constitution permitting the granting of a charter to a women's union in any city, provided the consent of the existing union established there was first obtained. Where the local conditions were such as to prevent the organization of a women's union, female workers were not to be debarred from joining a subordinate union if one were in existence. In the year following another step in advance was made by the election of a woman as corresponding secretary of the International Union. Her account of the efforts put forth to have only union women employed in offices is interesting and instructive.¹ She was forced to admit

¹ Report of Corresponding Secretary Augusta Lewis published in proceedings of the 19th session of the International Typographical Union, held at Baltimore, June 1871.

that but little success had attended the exertions to elevate her sex in the scale of workers. Most discouraging of all were the futile attempts to have only union women employed in the printing office of the *Woman's Advocate*, a paper which assumed to be "the woman's rights organ for working women." The principal reasons alleged for the failure to secure unions of women were the strong prejudice of the opposite sex, women's defective instruction in any given trade which prevented her being able justly to demand the same wages as men, and, lastly, the fact that as but few avenues of labor were open to women they were always ready and willing to undermine each other for a small advance in wages. The prejudice against female employees was very strong, the foremen as a rule, in many union establishments, refusing to engage them. On the other hand, in non-union offices they appear to have been fairly treated. *The Fireside Companion*, of New York, was the first newspaper to employ none but union women. Other papers, like the *Advocate* above mentioned, published in the interests of women, neither paid union wages nor employed union women. In 1871 the subordinate unions were instructed to give women all possible assistance and encouragement. In the following year it was reported that the plan of admitting women to subordinate unions was working satisfactorily, and a resolution was adopted requiring women to be admitted to subordinate unions on the same footing in all respects as men. A year later a stop was put to the practice of granting separate charters to women's unions, they having at that time all the privileges, in theory at least, of unions which were willing to admit them. The treatment of women by the subordinate union was, however, very questionable for a considerable period of time, and even yet it is uncertain whether they really enjoy the same privileges as men in all the unions. In 1884 the shameful treatment which female workers were reported to have received at the hands of union foremen, journeymen and apprentices, called forth the strong condemnation of the International Union, and led to the enactment of a general law to the effect that no distinction must be made between persons holding typograph-

ical union cards,¹ and that subordinate unions must admit women having such credentials. The president also announced as his official decision that subordinate unions could not refuse women admission on account of their sex. It is evident that former resolutions on the point had been of little avail; but the liberal provisions of the new law left the matter no longer optional with the unions. In 1887 they were ordered to organize as soon as possible all female help within their several jurisdictions, and it thus became the duty of the organizers to assist in this undertaking. Equal wages were to be paid for the same work to persons of both sexes who were employed in any union office, and any union failing to adjust its scale of prices so as to conform to this new regulation, or refusing to aid in its enforcement, became liable to a heavy fine for the first two offenses, and a

¹The card system is the method adopted by each union of securing to its members the privileges of the organization. Upon admission to the union and payment of the prescribed fees, each member is given a certificate which is properly dated and signed by the authorized officers. This certificate so authenticated must be accepted by all unions, no matter where the member so certified goes. If a member of a union comes from the habitat of his own union to that of another union, he is not admitted to the latter without such certificate; but if he be an applicant for membership, not having previously belonged to a union, leave to admit him may be obtained from the union in the town whence he came. This system is adopted as a security against the admission of non-unionist, or unworthy members. It was instituted at the first meeting of the International Union, where it was resolved that no journeyman from a town where an organization was known to exist should be permitted to work in any locality within the jurisdiction of the places represented at the convention unless he presented a certificate of membership from the union in the place whence he came. It was at the same time decided that the traveling certificates and cards should recommend the holders to "assistance and traveling expenses from the union in any city or town where they cannot obtain work." The practical application of this benefit has proved a perennial puzzle ever since. The union cards have also been used effectively in bringing about an indirect, and sometimes a direct, connection with other unions or bodies not within the jurisdiction of the International association. For example, the plan of an interchange of cards was adopted with respect to the Canadian unions before they linked their fortunes with the International. In 1873 the corresponding secretary of the International Union took measures to secure an exchange of cards with the English typographical unions; and now the duly attested cards of all persons so accredited from foreign typographical unions, which reciprocate the privileges, are accepted by subordinate unions, and their holders admitted to membership on the same footing as persons presenting a certificate of the International Union.

revocation of its charter for the third. These various provisions for the protection of female labor still form part of the general laws of the highest governing body, and indicate the present attitude of the International Union on the subject.

The number of women employed and underpaid in non-union offices continues to be very large. In 1893 an effort was made to secure a modification of the law requiring equal wages, the expectation being that, by lowering the scale for women, more of them might be induced to join the union. The demand came from Boston, where a large number of women have learned the trade in non-union offices. In that year there were, so it was claimed, 700 female compositors in Boston working at wages from one-third to one-half lower than the union scale. It has been found that a similar state of things prevails in nearly all the large cities. The demand just referred to was not granted for fear the principle of equal remuneration for both sexes might be eventually weakened or destroyed in the many establishments where, at that time and since, it has been accepted and acted upon.

The race problem had inherent elements, and was beset with difficulties, not unlike those involved in the perplexing problem of sex. At the conclusion of the great Civil War there was precipitated into the field of free labor a large population of emancipated slaves. Their long servitude had accustomed them to a species of oppression which was calculated to give the scantiest wage a fictitious value, and to make it appear in their eyes an ample reward for services rendered. This new class was now for the first time brought into competition with the great body of labor everywhere. Could it be effectually kept in subjection by having withheld from it the advantages which organized labor enjoyed? Thus reasoned the unions, and many decided to close their doors to the colored race—a policy of exclusion, and, as far as possible, of destruction also. But ere long it became evident that negro labor could not be thus ignored, and that the black man was capable, in many trades at least, of doing his work as efficiently as the white. In order, therefore,

to prevent the one from supplanting the other by performing the same services at a lower remuneration, the trades unions sought to organize the negroes as other classes had been organized, and to demand for colored labor, as they had done, or were doing almost at the same time, for female labor, that equal services, no matter by whom performed, should receive equal compensation. Prejudice, as in the case of women, albeit of a different kind, still prevailed, and withheld from the negro many privileges to which he was nominally entitled; and there are unions in existence today which still refuse admission to the colored man simply on account of his race.

The question was first considered by the Typographical Union in 1869, the year of its extension to Canada. A resolution declaring that it was manifestly unjust for any subordinate union to deny admission to a printer merely on the ground of race or color was then introduced, but it failed to carry. The discussion which it evoked showed that the printers had hoped that negro labor would never come seriously into conflict with their own, and that, wherever possible, it had been discouraged. The action taken was of a negative sort, and culminated in the defeat of a resolution setting forth that the International Typographical Union objected to the admission of any negro into a subordinate union under its jurisdiction. This much at least had been accomplished. A year later a special committee appointed to report on the subject declared that it was inimical to the progress of civilization to legislate against the color of printers seeking membership. Unhappily, the matter was then referred to the subordinate unions, each of which was left free to determine it in accordance with its own policy. What had happened in the case of female workers happened also, naturally enough, in the case of the negro. His holding a card of membership in one union which had been willing to admit him conferred no right of admission to another which had decided to exclude his race. This vexed question was finally settled in 1879. In that year the president of the union gave an official decision, on appeal, that the refusal of two unions to

accept the card of a colored member belonging to a third was illegal, and that a duly attested card of the International Typographical Union was to be honored when presented to any subordinate union. To put the matter beyond further doubt or cavil, it was afterwards resolved that no subordinate union should refuse to accept a properly accredited card so long as no charges were pending against the holder. So far then as nominal privileges are concerned, they are not denied by the Typographical Union to the negro; but as long as the old racial prejudice exists, it will be questionable to what degree they are real. In the case of any union in which the number of colored printers is at all large the privileges thus conceded are likely to be of a substantial character; but where the number is small or uninfluential, it is doubtful if the benefits intended are of any value whatever.

The apprenticeship problem is somewhat different, and may be looked at from two different standpoints. In the first place, the requirement of a term of apprenticeship may be regarded as a means of limiting the number of those likely to become journeymen, and so of lessening competition among members of the trade. When presented in this light it has features in common with the race and sex problems already noticed. Secondly, it may be regarded as a method of producing better and more efficient workmanship, and thus of placing the union on a higher plane by insuring to workmen a proper standard of excellence. It is difficult to say which aim has been uppermost in the minds of union men. There is little doubt that in the earlier years, and perhaps even yet, in many cases, the first has been or is the dominant purpose. The second has followed as a result, natural and inevitable.

The history of apprenticeship in the Typographical Union clearly reveals the objects aimed at, and also the dominant desire to diminish competition, especially during the earlier years. Whichever aim has been sought, two different methods have, from time to time, been adopted to secure it. First, apprenticeship has been made a prerequisite — a *sine qua non*

to admission — and was thereafter to be extended over a definite period of time. Secondly, the number of apprentices which any journeyman, or number of journeymen, may employ at any given time has been limited. At the first convention of printers, held in 1850, a recommendation was made that the number of apprentices should be limited, and a resolution was passed to that effect. All employing printers were also urged to have apprentices indentured for a period of not less than five years. In addition to these measures, there was expressed the significant opinion, which met with general approval, that “too many printers have been manufactured of late years,” a clear indication that the prime object of apprenticeship was to lessen competition. This action was in accordance with the objects for which the first convention was called. One of these objects was announced to be “the enforcement of the principle of limiting apprentices, by which measure a too rapid increase in the number of workmen, too little care in the selection of boys to the business, and the employment of herds of half men at half wages to the detriment of good workmen, may be effectually prevented.” The old policy was soon adopted of allowing the local unions to legislate upon this question of apprenticeship as they severally desired. They were requested to limit the number of apprentices in each office to one for such number of journeymen as they deemed just. Most of them have fixed the limit at one apprentice to five journeymen. In 1875 there is further evidence to show that the main object continued to be the limitation of numbers. The secretary reports that “the apprenticeship system, or rather the lack of a thorough system, is the root of the evil of there being too many printers, *i. e.*, too many alleged printers.” Meanwhile, at the intervening sessions, members had been debating the question of the term of indenture, and the expediency of changing it from four to five years, and back again from five to four.

A new difficulty arose in 1876. The legislature of Pennsylvania passed a law in that year making it an offense for any individual, society, or combination, in any way to dictate to, or

interfere with any person taking as many apprentices as he pleased. Naturally the printers in convention loudly protested, and urged a repeal of the law. They claimed that if an employer was to have as many apprentices as he pleased, the law was defective in not compelling him to give the apprentices the proper amount of instruction, and that unless there were some check of this kind the trade would soon deteriorate, or employers would gain unjustly at the expense of their men. An effort was then made to obtain legislation that would insure proper teaching. A bill with this purpose in view was introduced during the following year into the Michigan legislature, but, in common with similar efforts in other states, it failed to pass the house. Almost every year thereafter the question of how long a term of apprenticeship should be required was up for advisement, and was discussed to no purpose. An attempt was made in 1882 to secure the coöperation of the American Federation of Labor in bringing about a five-year term in all the states, but it did not prove successful. In 1889 the term was fixed at four years, at which it has since remained.

The Typographical Union has passed other laws in regard to apprenticeship, but many of these are of minor importance. In 1862 it was agreed to admit any apprentice to probationary membership in the last year of his term, without the privilege of voting, or the requirement of paying dues. It was hoped by this means that well-informed and thoroughgoing union men might be enlisted. In 1880 the suggestion was made that all apprentices be compelled to pass an examination as to their competency before admission to a union. This idea was further promoted in 1885, when the president urged the appointment by subordinate unions of local boards of examiners; and finally, in 1889, it crystallized into a law requiring a rigid examination, as to the competency of applicants for membership, by a committee of the local union. This law is still in force, with an exception, however, in the case of newspaper writers, press feeders, mailers, and web-press helpers. This action and many resolutions which are being presented year by year indicate the widespread

desire for a better apprenticeship system securing a higher degree of skill among the members. Efforts have been made to fix a certain minimum age, usually fifteen or sixteen years, as that at which apprentices may enter upon their term of indenture; but these have received little sanction save that of custom.

Of late years the apprenticeship question has led to many controversies between journeymen printers and their employers. The large employers in many cases do not employ apprentices at all. They depend chiefly on the country towns for their supply of skilled printers. In some respects the country printing offices offer special advantages for learning the printing trade. In such offices the work is not subdivided, as in large cities, and the apprentice learns all branches of his business. At the expiration of his term he is fully qualified to follow either the news or job printing branch. These country offices employ but few skilled journeymen, the proprietor, who is usually an experienced printer, performing all the work with the assistance of his apprentices. An investigation of this matter was made in 1893, and the result of the inquiry published in the *Typographical Journal* for December of that year. The conclusion there reached is, that where a union does not exist hardly any journeymen are employed. When an apprentice has served his term he is displaced by another apprentice, so that the only thing for the journeyman to do is to seek work in the city. As a result of this peculiar condition of things there has been, for years, a constant stream of journeyman printers from the country to the city. It is little wonder, therefore, that the unions find it difficult to secure work for all their members, and that they have striven to limit the number of apprentices which an employer may engage.¹

The attitude of the Typographical Union with respect to the admission of employers to membership has changed. At its first session a resolution was passed permitting employers to become active or honorary members of subordinate unions.

¹ The apprentice laws of local unions appear to be pretty generally observed. The following tables, taken from the fourth biennial report of the Bureau of Labor of

By 1859 this appears to have been restricted to employers who were at the same time practical printers. Nine years later the desire to confine the union ranks to wage-earners exclusively found expression in the adoption of a report granting the privilege of honorable withdrawal from the union to any member in good standing having an interest in any office in the city of the union of which he was a member, whether he were working at the time for a salary in his own or any other office in the city. Finally, in 1886, the regulation admitting to subordinate unions employers who were also practical printers was erased from the general code. A like policy in regard to the admission of

the state of Minnesota, 1893-4, show to what extent the offices in St. Paul and Minneapolis have complied with the union regulations limiting the proportion of apprentices to regular journeymen.

EXHIBIT OF JOURNEYMEN PRINTERS AND APPRENTICES EMPLOYED IN LEADING ST. PAUL PRINTING OFFICES.

	Number in different offices																			Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	
Number of journeymen employed	6	33	13	8	37	27	32	13	59	13	4	3	2	3	5	23	8	1	5	233
Number of apprentices employed	1	2	3	2	2	1	5	2	6	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	37
Number of apprentices allowed by union....	2	7	3	2	7	5	6	3	12	3	1	1	1	1	2	5	1	1	2	66

EXHIBIT OF JOURNEYMEN PRINTERS AND APPRENTICES EMPLOYED IN LEADING MINNEAPOLIS PRINTING OFFICES.

	Number in different offices																Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
Number of journeymen employed.	72	43	33	18	15	14	13	13	10	7	6	4	4	5	4	3	264
Number of apprentices employed.	2	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	25
Number of apprentices allowed by union.....	7	4	7	2	2	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	41

From these tables it will be seen that the full quota of apprentices allowed by a union are not in fact employed. These two cities may be taken as fair examples in this respect of the prevailing conditions in most large cities.

employers to membership may be traced in other unions; but it would be a mistake to suppose that it has been pursued in consequence of any hostility on the part of workingmen towards those in whose employ they are. It appears rather to be due exclusively to the desire for greater freedom of debate than might otherwise be enjoyed.

No questions have received greater attention from workmen in their trades unions than those pertaining to the hours of employment and the rate of wages. The two are intimately associated, for a reduction in the former, other things being equal, is equivalent to a rise in the latter. The hour and the wages questions have received most consideration in the local unions, but the national bodies have not left them unnoticed. The printers were early on the scene in the agitation for an eight-hour law, which is still a live question. When the matter first came up in the International Union in 1865 it was voted inexpedient to take any action in regard to it; but three years later Congress was memorialized by the union in favor of the passage of the eight-hour bill for government mechanics, and since then the shorter workday has been a principle continuously advocated. Notwithstanding this, little progress was made till very recent years. In 1887 a general law was passed making nine hours, instead of eight, a day's work, except upon morning and evening papers, for which six hours' continuous composition was suggested; and a plan of action was laid down for enforcing the law in all places where trade unionists were employed. Fearing, however, that an attempted enforcement might prove disastrous, the operation of the law was soon suspended, and the matter left to local unions with the result that nothing came of it. When the Wade eight-hour bill was before Congress in 1890 resolutions were passed that it be made law, for the reason that the old eight-hour law allowed government employees to work more than eight hours if paid for overtime. The part played by the International Typographical Union in securing shorter hours of employment has been of more effect indirectly than directly. The union has contributed liberally by

assessment to the Federation of Trades whenever that body has sought to compel the adoption of an eight-hour law in certain trades with the hope of extending it in time to others. It has also given pecuniary aid to many of its local unions when the latter have been engaged in a legitimate attempt to secure a reduction of hours. It is only within the last few years that it has properly equipped itself with the means of affording this aid by the raising of a national defense fund. The necessity of such a fund was considered at the first convention, held in 1850, but this effort met with little or no success, and, strangely enough, the establishment of a proper fund was not realized till 1885, although the matter was up for consideration at almost every intervening session, with the exception of the period from 1853 to 1867, when it lay in abeyance. Fund laws were passed from time to time, but were either suspended or left to the individual action of subordinate unions, and consequently were never put into operation. In 1886 the adoption of the law by all unions was made compulsory, but it was not until 1890 that its success was at all assured. The reports of 1891 show that the sum of over \$17,000 was paid out in strike benefits during the fiscal year then closed.

A consideration of the defense fund is connected intimately with the question of strikes, the success of which is the *raison d'être* of the fund's existence. Paradoxical as it may appear, the perfecting of the fund has been accompanied by greater conservatism on the part of the national body in its attitude towards strikes. There is not now the same likelihood of an unfair strike occurring as there was before the fund came into existence; for with the increased funds at the disposal of the governing body has come an increased authority on the part of executive officers in deciding upon the justifiableness of a strike, and increased responsibility on the part of the union that advises it. A union that desires aid from the national body, or rather that does not wish to render itself liable to expulsion, is no longer free to declare open hostility to an employer or set of employers, by ordering a strike at pleasure. In the event of a disagree-

ment between a subordinate union and an employer, which, in the opinion of the local union, may result in a strike, such union is required to notify the organizer, who goes to the place where the union is located, investigates the cause of the disagreement, and endeavors to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts are futile, he notifies the president, who informs the other members of the executive council of the circumstances, and if a majority of the council decides that a strike is necessary the union is authorized to order it. It is only recently that matters have been so adjusted. In 1876 a majority of any local union might order a strike, and this, where the union was composed largely of young and single men, was often hazardous to older and more conservative printers who had families to support. In the year referred to a general law was passed requiring a three-fourths vote of a subordinate union to order a strike, and no one was allowed to vote on the question who had not been a member for six months. A further security against too hasty action was afforded in the following year by ordering a secret ballot to be taken whenever the question of strike or no strike was being determined. The present method did not come into force until after the establishment of the defense fund.

There are, in addition to these, other salutary safeguards. When a strike has been authorized by the executive council the union interested is called together within twenty-four hours to take action in the matter. A three-fourths vote of the members in good standing is then taken, as already mentioned, and should this majority decide in favor of a strike it is at once inaugurated, and the executive council notified of the number of men, union and non-union, involved. When a strike is thus inaugurated the executive council pays out of the defense fund, to the order of the president and secretary of the union involved, an amount equal to seven dollars per week for each married man, and five dollars per week for each single man entitled thereto, excepting the feeders and bindery girls, whose benefits are, for each married member five dollars and twenty-five cents per week, and for each single member three dollars and seventy-

five cents per week. No member of a subordinate union on strike is entitled to the weekly benefit unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the subordinate union while the strike continues. A member receiving four days' work receives no benefits; neither is the benefit allowed to any member refusing proper work while out on strike. No strike can be inaugurated by a subordinate union until at least a year after it has received its charter. The defense fund is secured by setting apart annually 30 per cent. of the revenues of the International Union to the credit of the executive for the purposes described. It may also be drawn upon to aid in the resistance of unfair measures advocated by employers who may be too formidable for the local union to contend against, and also for the purpose of advancing and defending the principles of unionism whenever and however the executive council may decide.

The adoption of the national defense fund is apt to foster a wrong impression as to the policy of the Typographical Union in regard to strikes. It may be fairly said that its wisest leaders have always deprecated anything like hostility on the part of union members towards their employers. Repeatedly, in the annual sessions, has the frequent resort to strikes been declared injudicious, and local unions directed not to countenance their continuance. Differences with employers, it has been maintained, might be settled satisfactorily by other means, leaving always a strike as the last resort. In truth, many of the strikes have proved disastrous, and as early as 1871 arbitration was recommended by the national body as a method of settling disputes likely to prove most satisfactory to employer and employed. The argument now urged in support of the defense fund is, that its existence is more likely to insure arbitration than if the union were pecuniarily feeble or defenseless. The union is able to meet the capitalist employer on more even ground. Too often, before, there was a possibility of the employer's greater wealth enabling him to take advantage of the position of the workman on account of the latter's extreme necessities; but now that resistance no longer means starva-

tion, there is almost certain to be a fairer recognition of the just claims of either party. The merit of the defense fund lies as much in the number of strikes which it prevents as in the aid which it affords to those which are undertaken. As a matter of fact the number of strikes in the printers' trade has been diminishing year by year, and arbitration has taken their place. Almost all the local unions have rules on arbitration, and these are enforced wherever possible.

The question of Sunday labor was one which during the early years of the union presented itself regularly for discussion. At first a decided stand was taken against it, and resolutions were passed condemning it as unnecessary, and as injurious to the moral and social reputation of printers. This attitude was moderated at the end of ten years by the union advocating that, wherever practicable, it was advisable to do away with labor on "the best day of the seven," the main reason urged being that it would appear more creditable from an outside point of view if the union adopted such an attitude. After this time little or no objection was made on the part of the national body to the employment of printers on Sunday, but of late years the question has received some attention in the effort to prevent any extension of work over six days in the week. The introduction of the Sunday newspaper revived the subject, as it presented a possibility of seven days' work being in time required on a week of six days' pay. The morality aspect of the question, however, has not been presented for many years, and the old argument that Sunday labor was unnecessary has been reversed, or has yielded to the demands of necessity. The point to be maintained is that only six days' work shall be required in a week.

So far as the rate of wages is concerned the International Typographical Union has taken a stand similar to that in relation to hours of employment. The subject has been regarded as one with which the local unions alone were competent to deal, but the moral support of the National Union has always been behind the local bodies in their efforts to secure proper

remuneration for their members. As a matter of fact the defense fund has been more utilized in protecting the wage rate than for any other purpose. When the matter of fixing the rate of wages was first introduced at the second national convention it was deemed inexpedient to legislate on it, and, whether on the ground of expediency or not, it has since been left for regulation to the local unions. The plan followed by the latter bodies in adjusting wages has been for each union to fix a scale of prices, and present it annually to employers to sign. This scale is then held binding on both parties, and any amendments or alterations must first be submitted to a conference of employers before being confirmed. Since 1878 all questions of increasing or reducing the scale of prices have been decided in local unions by a secret ballot. The scale of prices is very complete, covering all classes of work; and it is usually printed in book form, copies of which are obtainable by the parties interested. The International Union in 1886 advised that piecework be abolished in book composing rooms, and has since endeavored to have subordinate unions act upon this advice.

The Typographical Union has always taken a decided stand against the contract system of public printing in federal, state, and municipal work, and has advocated the institution of a system whereby such public work shall be carried on under the direct supervision of the federal, state, and municipal governments. Apart from the advantage which such a system brings to the printers, it is argued by them that there is saved to the people a large revenue which otherwise is absorbed by the middleman. It was largely due to the exertions of the International and subordinate unions that the government printing bureau was established at Washington, and that similar offices have been established in many different states. At first the International Union sought to institute a national printing office at the capital on the joint-stock principle, which it was intended should secure the printing patronage of the United States government. This scheme engaged the attention of the printers in convention for over six years. It was then decided that the undertak-

ing was too large, and the plan was adopted of petitioning Congress on behalf both of the National and local unions to create a government printing bureau, and in this way put an end to the contract system, which was the real grievance aimed at. A continuous series of memorials at last met with success, and in 1870 the government printing office was set in operation. It soon came under the control of the Columbia Typographical Union of Washington, as was evidenced by the attack made in the United States senate on labor organizations, and particularly on the Typographical Union itself. This occurred on February 24, 1883, when it was proposed to increase the salary of the public printer. The statement was made by a number of senators that this official had no power to say who should be employed in the government printing office, and that the matter was practically dictated by members of the Typographical Union. It was impossible, so it was alleged, for a non-union man to secure a government position. These accusations, however, were fully met by the many friends of trades unions in the senate.

The vexed question of bringing convict labor into competition with free is one that has had to be considered by the printers in common with many other trades. The union printers of New York were successful in having an end put to printing in New York state prisons, and efforts have not been spared to induce the legislatures of other states in which the public printing is done by convict labor to put a stop to the practice. Union printers have been forbidden to work with, or to teach, convicts where the latter are employed. Strong protests have been formulated wherever it was thought likely that convict labor would be employed to do public work. An example of this occurred in 1880, when the mayor of Boston was severely censured for his approval of having printing done for the municipality by the convicts on Deer Island in the harbor. The remonstrances, however, against the introduction of the Ohio state printing into the deaf-and-dumb asylum, in 1868, are subject to a different interpretation.

There are few organized crafts which have not an official organ of their own, and the influence of this single factor itself upon trade-union development has been very marked. During the early years of its existence the expediency of adopting an official paper was frequently considered by the Typographical Union, but it is only recently that success has been achieved. In 1889 the *Typographical Journal* was created as a monthly paper. The following year it was made a semi-monthly.¹

¹ Prior to that time the union recognized certain existing papers as specially desirable media for the exchange of trade intelligence. In 1859 the *Printer* of New York was recommended to the members throughout the United States as a paper upholding the interests of the craft; and in 1862 the secretaries of the subordinate unions were required to furnish the *Printer* with quarterly lists of members in good standing, and copies of these were kept filed in union offices. In 1867 the president strongly urged the publication of an organ to instruct and enlighten apprentices and journeymen in country offices. In addition to the lists of members the secretaries were then required to furnish monthly statistics on the state of trade. In 1874 an attempt was made to establish a monthly journal, but this was defeated. In 1881 and 1883 similar efforts met with a like fate. In 1886 a paper known as the *Craftsman* was constituted the official organ, and in order that every member should be obliged to take it the per capita tax was raised about forty cents per annum to enable the International Union to pay for its distribution. By having the paper paid for in this manner it was sure to be more widely read, and members were certain to take greater interest in its publication. The same year the pressmen were recommended to take the *Inland Printer* as a paper devoting much attention to their branch of the business. The organizer in his report of 1886 drew attention to the fact that the *Craftsman* as an official organ had proved most helpful in the successful organization of the local unions. In 1888 there was ordered to be published monthly, under the direction of the president and secretary-treasurer, an official circular to contain the official decisions of the president and board of directors, reports of auditing committees, monthly receipts and expenditures, official orders, charters granted and charters revoked, with the causes of revocation, lists of subordinate unions, names and addresses of officers and their places of meeting, the state of trade, scale of prices, etc. Five copies of the circular were to be sent to every union. This practically prepared the way for the adoption of an official journal devoted exclusively to the interests of the craft. The following year the *Typographical Journal* was created as a monthly paper, and as the official organ of the International Typographical Union of North America. It has been retained as such ever since. The *Journal* has proved such an excellent medium of communication between headquarters and the local unions, and so material a saving of expense to the parent body, that it was decided in 1890 to have the paper published semi-monthly. The paper at present has eight pages or more, 14 x 10½ inches in size, and is non-political and non-sectarian in character. It contains the substance of appeals and the president's decisions thereon, reports of the auditing committees, the balancing of the monthly bank account, monthly receipts,

The passage by Congress of the International Copyright Bill may be accredited to the efforts of the Typographical Union. As early as 1858 a memorial was presented to Congress for the enactment of an international copyright law, and although the present law did not come into force until 1891 the printers were engaged continuously during the interval in seeking to bring about the enactment. In the forty-eighth and forty-ninth congresses international copyright bills were introduced, but in none of these was provision made that the type of books copyrighted in America should be set in this country. As this omission meant little gain to the printing craft here, its members made every effort to compass the defeat of the measures which were defective in that particular, and in this they were successful. The Chace Bill, introduced in the senate during the fiftieth congress, contained the desired provision, and received the indorsement of the International Typographical Union. It passed the senate, but was amended in the house of representatives in a manner objectionable to the printers. It was then laid over till the next session, and meanwhile the International Union condemned the amendment and petitioned Congress for the passage of the bill as originally introduced. When the bill came up again at the following session it was strongly supported by one of the members from New York state, who was an ex-president of the Typographical Union. The Federation of Labor and the Knights of Labor also brought what influence they could to bear on behalf of the printers. The bill finally passed the house by a vote of 139 to 95. Seventy-eight of the members who voted for it represented cities in which there were typographical unions, and all of them had had previous communications on the subject with their constituents. In the senate little opposition was encoun-

disbursements and arrearages, official orders, charters granted and suspended, lists of names and addresses of corresponding or financial secretaries of subordinate unions, the state of trade, notices of change in the scale of prices, advertisements of a character pertaining to the craft, the names of all applicants for membership about whom information is desired as to previous good character, and other matters of interest and importance to the printing trade. Copies are furnished free to subordinate unions, and to members, or other persons, at the rate of twenty-five cents a year.

tered, and before the adjournment in March 1891 the bill had passed both houses. Thus it was that the printers secured all that they had desired. Since then every book copyrighted in the United States has been manufactured in the country, and this will continue as to subsequent editions during the term of the copyright, a period of from twenty-eight to forty years. The officers of the Typographical Union have since appointed a committee whose sole duty it is to guard the integrity of the type-setting clause of the law as it stands.

The methods taken to secure the passage of this bill are illustrative of the extent to which the International Typographical Union has found it expedient to enter politics. The policy of memorializing Congress on matters of interest to the trade has been one continuously pursued both by national and local bodies.¹

The introduction of type-setting machines into printing offices within the last decade has brought the "art preservative" through a transition stage. Machines have now in most offices supplanted hand composition, and will probably supplant hand labor entirely, except in job work. When the Typographical Union realized that this change from hand composition to type-

¹As instances in point we have the efforts put forth to secure a government printing office, and so end the contract system of government printing; the petitions praying for the removal of the duty on paper, and on chemicals used in its manufacture — intended in 1863 as a blow to the paper combination which at that time had raised prices to a point that caused printers and publishers alike to suffer; similar petitions for the repeal of the paper duty in 1880; the memorials in favor of an eight-hour bill for government mechanics; the efforts to obtain further protection by the imposition of heavier duties on printed books imported; the petitions to state legislatures for the repeal of the conspiracy laws; and a host of other petitions and memorials which appear almost annually. Of late years the plan of having regular committees to do the "lobbying" necessary marks a feature common to most of the large labor organizations. With a few possible exceptions, there are no traces in the records of the Typographical Union of any effort to influence the party color of the union as a whole. Political resolutions have been general in their nature. For example, in 1884 resolutions were passed recommending printers to vote for such congressional candidates as were known to be friendly to the interests of American workingmen. Similar resolutions are common in all such organizations. Occasionally an attempt has been made to boycott a pronounced enemy of the union, but as a rule the members follow their own individual political convictions, and are little influenced by other forces. The insinuation of party politics into a union is almost certain to work disruption.

setting by machinery was inevitable, it set to work to adapt itself to the new order with as little friction as possible. It endeavored, amongst other things, to preserve for the hand compositor a place at the machine. A large part of the history of typographical unions, for the last ten years, is consequently one of adjustment to these new conditions. The matter has of necessity been dealt with in each locality by the subordinate union situate therein, and some of the local unions have shown by their action no small amount of enterprise, tact, and wisdom. The Boston union, for instance, had machines set up at its headquarters, and members of the union were there taught to operate them successfully. This example was followed by other unions. Wherever possible an effort has been made to secure for the union men the operating of the machine, and to prevent their exclusion by others hitherto not workers at the trade.

A large number of men have inevitably been displaced by the introduction of these machines. The *Typographical Journal* of January 15, 1894, published in tabular form statistics bearing upon the displacement of labor which were collected by the editor from seventy American cities where machines had been introduced. From this table it appears that in those seventy cities 132 offices had introduced in all 999 machines. Before the use of the machines in these offices there were employed 3461 regular journeymen and 1188 sub journeymen. After their introduction there were employed 2201 regulars and 412 sub journeymen. The machines had thus displaced 1260 regulars and 776 sub journeymen, a total of 2036, or 44 per cent. of the original employees.

The adoption of a union label is a measure which the Typographical Union, in common with many other organized trades, has not lost sight of in its own interest and that of unionism generally. The union label is apparently a small matter, but it is really one of significant importance; it is the imprimatur or "hall mark" of trade genuineness. The main purpose which it serves is to stamp all goods entitled to its use as having been manufactured by members of a trade union and in a shop where

trade-union regulations have been complied with. So far as possible union members and their friends, no matter to what trade or calling they belong, endeavor to use exclusively only such articles as bear thereon the recognized union label of the organization or business concern which produces such articles. Subordinate unions issue to their members cards impressed with the union stamp, and they are supposed to put forth every effort to have the merchants with whom they deal insist on having their printing done by union labor only. In many instances a union salesman has been known to sell a "labeled" article to the entire exclusion of one quite as good, but made in a non-union shop. For this reason many employers have found it to their interest to engage only union men in order that they may gain the privileges and benefits of the union label.

There remains still to consider the "benefit" or "fraternity" side of the International Typographical Union. Strange as it may seem, this, the oldest national union, has been one of the last to adopt what has been often considered the characteristic feature of trades unions. Its history in this respect would disprove the opinion, so often entertained, that unions are primarily benefit societies. Such is not the case, though the benefit features are becoming in many instances stronger and more distinctively marked every year. In the case of the Typographical Union they were introduced to promote the general objects of the organization, by offering special inducements to weaker members, but the organization was not instituted in order to confer "benefits" of that nature, though its existence has naturally tended towards that end. The secret of the adoption of the benefit features was concisely stated by the president of the Federation of Labor in 1890. "The interests of the men," he said, "who have no inclination, ability, or time to clearly see the benefits and advantages of organization, should be made so inseparable from the union as to make it a direct loss to them to sever their connection with it." And so it has been. The benefit features, though they have served higher ends, and promise to be of yet greater importance, were instituted originally in the

typographical and many other unions for the purpose of holding together the weaker elements of the organization.

One of the first measures advocated, but one which was carried out with success only five years ago, was the establishment of a home for invalid, aged, and infirm union printers. It is known as "The Childs-Drexel Home for Union Printers" and is under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union. The applicants gain admission through the subordinate unions when they have been members of these in good standing. Twenty per cent. of the per capita tax levied by the International Union is set apart for the maintenance of the home, and any member in good standing of any subordinate union, excepting feeders and bindery girls, who are not taxed for the home, is deemed a member of the International Typographical Union for the purposes of admission as an inmate. The institution is as yet in its tentative stage, and is little more than an experiment. The comparatively brief period of its foundation makes it difficult to determine what degree of success will ultimately attend this interesting undertaking.

For the past eight years the printers have been regularly contributing towards a burial fund. On the death of a member in good standing in a subordinate union, an order is drawn on the International Union for the sum of sixty dollars, except in the case of feeders and bindery girls, when the draft is forty-five dollars, for the burial expenses of the deceased. The order must be honored promptly. Before this fund was created the death of a member was recognized only by the passage of resolutions of condolence, and sometimes by the attendance at the funeral in a body of the fellow workmen of the deceased. Occasionally, however, subordinate unions levied special assessments on their members for the attendant expenses, and not a few purchased burial lots. In times of special distress a fund was raised, and members of one union were often generously aided by those of several others. Since the burial fund has been established a careful record of the causes of death has been kept. It goes to show that about one-half of the total number of deaths per year

have been due to consumption and kindred diseases, to which printers are peculiarly exposed from the nature of their occupation.

Of the subordinate unions a large number, in addition to the benefits secured by the International Union, raise and disburse moneys for weekly sick benefits. The benefits range from \$2.50 to \$10 a week for each sick member. Sums are also frequently raised in the way of charity to assist other unions in need. In a comparative statement made by the State Labor Bureau of Minnesota it is shown that the average charity contribution in one local typographical union (No. 42) for a single year was \$3.28 per member. This, it seems, was equal to three-fourths of the \$4.80 which is the total per capita gift reported by the Congregationalist denomination of the United States, in the year 1891, for charities, education, and home and foreign missions. The sum total donated by the union referred to for charitable purposes in the particular year mentioned was \$1123.55.

The cost of collecting and disbursing the strike and charity funds and the insurance benefit fund of the printers is about 3 per cent. of the total sum. A comparison of this item of expenditure with corresponding figures of the best conducted sick benefit associations of the world is very interesting. It can be shown that as a matter of fact this cost is but one-third of the expense ratio of the German sick benefit associations, which are continually pointed to and held up as models for imitation.

The advantages which a trade union affords in teaching its members business methods and management, and in presenting opportunities of self-culture and educational development along lines other than those of their trade alone, would be interesting to consider. Of no less interest would be a study of the influence of unions on the moral character of their members, but these results, interesting as they might prove, are aside from the present consideration of methods actually pursued.

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